



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

governments having differences to go direct to the Hague Court. That certainly would ultimately be the course which would be followed. But the great thing is that such treaties have been drawn. If they go into effect, as is not at all improbable, they will bring Spain and all these Spanish countries into a bond of arbitration the international effect of which would be very powerful, not only among themselves, but throughout the world.

A World Legislature.

On the initiative of Mr. Raymond L. Bridgman, a prominent press correspondent, a resolution was recently brought before the Massachusetts General Assembly, asking that body to petition Congress to have the President invite foreign governments to send representatives to an international conference to provide for the creation of a permanent world legislature.

The committee of the Massachusetts Assembly to whom the subject was referred are understood to have taken considerable interest in the matter, but they reported against action this year, on the ground that the time is not ripe for such a movement.

In this judgment these Massachusetts legislators are partly right and partly wrong. The world is much farther advanced toward this goal than is generally supposed. Many developments of recent years clearly indicate that the day is not far off when some sort of an international legislative body of permanent character will be created, to deal with those general world-questions which are rapidly increasing in number and imperativeness, but with which the nations have now no adequate method of dealing.

As a matter of fact, the movement for a general permanent international parliament or congress is as old as that for a high court of nations, which we now have, though not yet taking in all the nations of the world. During the vigorous early days of the peace movement in the last century a Congress of Nations and a Court of Nations were always associated together in the minds of the very able peace leaders like Worcester, Ladd, Channing, Upham, Burritt, Walker, Sumner *et al.*, who grasped the subject in all its scope with extraordinary clearness and fulness. They felt that a Court and a Congress were the necessary complements of each other.

Even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the plans put forward by William Penn and others for the peace of Europe, the idea of an international parliament or diet held a prominent place. It is not strange that this idea, which has not been much in evidence the past generation, should be revived at this time. The strange thing rather is that it should ever have fallen out of view.

The reasons for the creation of a permanent inter-

national legislature, to take the place of the temporary quasi-legislative congresses which have met from time to time for a hundred years, are just as strong and practically the same as those urged with so great force for the last ten years in behalf of a permanent tribunal to take the place of the *ad hoc* arbitration tribunals which have been set up in numerous instances for the settlement of disputes. If permanency is indispensable in the one case, it is equally so in the other.

The governments of the world, in the present state of civilization, cannot avoid a certain amount of joint legislation. This they have long recognized, and they have in recent years frequently organized temporary congresses and conferences, to deal with pressing questions affecting the interests of a number of them. Since the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815 about twenty important international congresses and conferences have been held, an average of one about every four and a half years. The work of many of these gatherings has been essentially legislative. In the case of some of them, nothing practical has resulted, because of the failure of the respective governments to ratify the conventions agreed upon. In that of others, permanent results of an important political or humanitarian character have been secured, and permanent contributions have been made to international law and policy.

It seems not at all improbable that in the near future these temporary efforts at international legislation will develop into something more orderly, general and permanent. They have done great service to mankind, in spite of their irregular and uncertain character, just as the temporary arbitration tribunals have done. They are an outgrowth of the constantly developing world-society, — the growing complexity of international relations, and the steadily advancing unification and coöperation of all peoples and nations. Their ultimate outcome cannot be anything less than a world legislature.

The entire idea of such a universal international parliament once seemed utterly Utopian. It seems so to many still. But the Utopia of to-day is certain to be the reality of to-morrow, as any one may easily convince himself who will take the trouble to examine carefully the trend of the swift and mighty world movements on whose currents we are being borne so irresistibly on.

Dr. Hale as a Practical Peacemaker.

The tribute paid to Edward Everett Hale on the 3d of April, the eightieth anniversary of his birth, when in Symphony Hall, Boston, such a company of men and women came together as it would be hard for the New England capital or any other city to duplicate, was of a kind which rarely comes to any man; but, curiously enough, in Senator Hoar's

address on the occasion and in the press appreciations throughout the nation, there was next to no reference to the chief practical service of Dr. Hale to humanity in recent years.

When Dr. Hale himself, in his response to Senator Hoar's discourse, took advantage of the occasion to declare to the great audience that the principal business of men is to help to bring in the Kingdom of God, a kingdom of love and brotherhood in which each lives for all and all for each, one in the hall could feel that many present comprehended but vaguely what he meant and followed his thought "afar off." It is not much to be wondered at, then, that a man's highest conception and best service — Dr. Hale's as well as other men's — is not appreciated, or appreciated only by a small number, until long after the man is gone, so few are the people who rise to the level of the new, transforming ideas which at any particular epoch are carrying the world up to higher levels.

Dr. Hale's best practical work for the world in recent years was passed over in silence, we say. We mean his promotion of the idea of a permanent international tribunal for the settlement of controversies between nations. The thought of such a tribunal did not originate with him. That is not his merit. It was brought forward and powerfully advocated by many distinguished persons nearly half a century before Dr. Hale ever said anything on the subject. It has been stated that the setting up of the Hague Court has been due to Dr. Hale more than to any other living man. This is much to overstate the case. It would be easy to mention at least a dozen living men in different countries who have each, in one way or another, done as much as Dr. Hale. The best service of a man does not consist in inventing a new idea and working it alone, but in the method which he adopts to help to make a new and useful idea prevail.

Dr. Hale's distinctive service in connection with the creation of the international court has been that of a historic prophet. More than a quarter of a century ago he saw clearly that the development and organization of law in the civilized world had been so rapid and effective in modern times as to make the early setting up of a permanent international tribunal absolutely certain. Other men said there *ought* to be such a court; he said it *would be*. Where he got the idea, we do not know. He may have received it from Bushnell's "Growth of Law," a splendid prophetic passage of which we quote on another page. He may have found it in Victor Hugo, or it may have come to him from some other source; but having got the idea, it possessed him. He uttered it and kept on uttering it in the press and on the platform, in season and out of season. Many people were surprised at his sanguine belief and thought him over-confident and over-enthusiastic.

But his faith was perfectly rational; it had a solid historic foundation, as any one might have seen who had grasped the lesson of the progress of law as Dr. Hale had grasped it.

We do not say that Dr. Hale alone saw this great event casting its shadow before. Many others saw it and said it. But among prominent men we do not know of any one — at any rate in this country — who more confidently, vigorously, and persistently kept the great idea before the public, in all the range of his influence, than Dr. Hale. In the moral protest against war as an essentially irrational and iniquitous system, many have been far in advance of him; but in this particular aspect of the "war against war" he has had no superior.

This prophetic insight into the growth and expansion of law and persistent prediction of its certain final triumph in the realm of international affairs has been Dr. Hale's distinctive service to the cause of peace; and it is a very great service.

Annual Business Meeting.

The Seventy-fourth Annual Business Meeting of the members of the American Peace Society will be held in the Society's room, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, May 13, 1902, at 2 P. M., for the election of officers, the reception of the Annual Report of the Directors and the annual statement of the Treasurer, and the transaction of of any other business that may properly come before the meeting.

Members who live at a distance and cannot be present are kindly invited to send any suggestions that may occur to them as to the work of the Society.

Ampler funds for the promotion of the cause are much needed, and contributions of any amount will be most gratefully acknowledged.

Editorial Notes.

The Future of Europe.

Napoleon I. once prophesied that in a hundred years Europe would either be Cossack or republican. A hundred years have passed and the struggle between democratic principles and Cossackism — animalism and savagery — still goes on, and it is unsafe to prophesy when the conflict will be over. At a recent great meeting held by the Stuttgart Peace Society, Pastor Otto Umfrid, the foremost propagandist of that part of Germany, quoting this saying of Napoleon, said that it was truer to prophesy that either peace would triumph in Europe or Europe would not be at all. If the European states did not cease to sacrifice to the devouring Moloch of war, they would discover that the other side of the ocean (meaning the United States) had left them behind in every